

## MEMORANDUM

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TO: SAC, HOUSTON

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5/11/89

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FROM: L9

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SUBJECT: NEWS MEDIA ARTICLES  
RE SOUTH AFRICA

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Attached and to be considered part of this memo is a copy and translation of an article which appeared in the February 4, 1989 edition of the Afrikaans-language newspaper, "Beeld."

The article tells of some of Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth's observations within the ANC with regard to the ANC's views of Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie. Lieutenant Forsyth is a member of the South African military as allegedly penetrated the upper echelons of the ANC as a spy for the South African military.

The article is provided for information.

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# ANC-leiers wil Mandela glad nie vry hê nie

LEIERS binne die ANC wil nie hê Nelson Mandela moet vrygelaat word nie. Terwyl hy aangehou word, is hy 'n simboliese figuur wat mense bymekaar hou en wat internasionaal geloofwaardigheid aan die ANC gee.

Luit. Olivia Forsyth het kontak gehad met verskeie leiersfigure in die ANC wat gemeen het Mandela moenie vrygelaat word nie. Hulle is onder andere Chris Hani, hoof van Umkhonto we Sizwe, die ANC se militêre vleuel, en Ronnie Kasrils, die ANC se hoof van militêre intelligensie.

Dié leiers weet nie wat om te doen as Mandela-vrygelaat sou word nie, sê luit. Forsyth.

Die enigste voordeel wat hulle in sy vrylating sien, is dat hulle dan dalk minder probleme sou hê met sy vrou, Winnie Mandela. Almal met wie luit. Forsyth gepraat het, het sonder uitsondering gesê sy is vir hulle 'n verleentheid en sy doen die revolusie meer kwaad as goed.

Daar word gemeen sy het geen dissipline nie en doen ook nie verantwoording aan die ANC nie. Sy beskou haarself as 'n prima donna wat kan doen wat sy wil net omdat sy Mandela se vrou is.

Die ANC probeer internasionaal 'n beeld skep dat hy redelik is, maar Winnie Mandela wys wat hulle werklik is met haar aanmerkings oor halssnoermoorde en dreigemente van "vuurhoutjies".

Daar is ook gesê sy is windmakerig en uitspattig toe sy haar groot nuwe miljoenêrshuis in Soweto gebou het.

Luit. Forsyth het ook kennis gemaak met die sterk etniese en stamkonflikte binne die ANC. Dit word volgens haar weggesteek. Die Xhosa is daarop uit, om die Zoeloes te oorheers en hulle glo dat alle ander bevolkingsgroepe lafaards is.

Daar word veral gesê Indiërs is lafaards wat net saamkoek in die Suid-Afrikaanse Kommunistiese Party en bang is om op die voorgrond van die militêre stryd te kom.

Aan die ander kant het 'n Indiër wat in bevel van 'n Indiërgroep was, aan luit. Forsyth gesê swartmense is basies primitief. Hy het 'n voorbeeld genoem van 'n hoogs opgeleide terroris wat eers 'n toor-



MEV. WINNIE MANDELA ... 'n Verleentheid vir die ANC met haar uitspattigheid.

dokter wou gaan raadpleeg voordat hy op sy sending wou vertrek.

Hani en Kasrils het luit. Forsyth ook ingelig oor hoe leiers in die frontstate, onder andere pres. Kenneth Kaunda van Zambië, gemanipuleer word.

"Ander dinge wat ek opgemerk het, is die algemene ontnugtering en alkoholmisbruik op alle vlakke van leierskap.

Daar is ook geweldig baie gevalle van Vigs en besonder baie vroue wat vir opleiding gestuur word, is swanger.

Dié swanger vroue word volgens luit. Forsyth na Tanzanië gestuur. Dié land word beskou as die ANC se "stortings-terrein". Hani het dit as 'n feit gestel dat ou mense en diegene wat nie die ANC-beleid heeltemal ondersteun het nie, na Tanzanië gestuur word.

Die babas wat daar gebore word, sterf dikwels weens verwaarloosende en ondervoeding. Hulle word op 'n vroeë ouderdom van hul ouers weggeneem en word dikwels sommerk aan Tanzaniërs gegee.

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ANC-LEADERS DON'T WANT MANDELA RELEASED

Leaders within the ANC don't want Nelson Mandela released. While he is being held, he is a symbolic figure which holds people together and which gives international credibility to the ANC.

Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth had contact with various leadership figures in the ANC who think that Mandel must not be released. They are, among others, Chris Hani, head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, and Ronnie Kasrils, the ANC's head of military intelligence.

These leaders would not know what to do should Mandela be released, Lieutenant Forsyth says.

The only advantage they see in his release is that they would possibly then have fewer problems with his wife, Winnie Mandela. Everyone with whom Lieutenant Forsyth spoke said without exception that she (Winnie Mandela) is an embarrassment and she does the revolution more harm than good.

It is thought she has no discipline and does not account to the ANC. She regards herself as a prima donna who can do what she wants just because she is Mandela's wife.

The ANC is trying to create an international image that it is decent but Winnie Mandela shows what they really are with her remarks about necklace murders and threats of "match boxes."

It is also said she was showy and extravagant when she built her big new millionaire's house in Soweto.

Lieutenant Forsyth also found out about the strong ethnic and tribal conflicts within the ANC. According to her it is hidden. The Xhosas are out to dominate the Zulus and they believe that all other population groups are cowards.

It is especially said Indians are cowards who just huddle together in the South African Communist Party and are afraid to come to the forefront of the military struggle.

On the other side, an Indian who is in charge of an Indian group said to Lieutenant Forsyth that black people are basically primitive. He gave an example of a highly trained terrorist who first wanted to consult a witchdoctor before he would leave on his assignment.

Hani and Kasrils also briefed Lieutenant Forsyth on how leaders in the frontline states, among others President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, are manipulated.

"Other things which I noticed is the general disillusionment and alcohol abuse at all levels of leadership."

There are also an awful lot of cases of Aids and particularly many women who are sent for training are pregnant.

These pregnant women are sent to Tanzania, according to Lieutenant Forsyth. That country is regarded as the ANC's "dumping grounds." Hani stated it as fact that old people and those who haven't completely supported the ANC-policy are sent to Tanzania.

The babies born there often die from neglect and malnutrition. They are taken away from their parents at an early age and are often simply given to Tanzanians.

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TO: SAC, HOUSTON [redacted] (S)

FROM: [redacted] (S)

*NY*

SUBJECT: NEWS MEDIA ARTICLES  
RE SOUTH AFRICA

Date: 10/17/89

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THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED ~~SECRET~~.

Attached and to be considered part of this memorandum is an article from the 10/17/89 edition of "The New York Times".

The article is provided for information.

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# Pretoria Apparently Seeking Aid of Freed Blacks

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 16 — In its treatment of the eight political prisoners released on Sunday, the white minority Government appears to be sending signals that it wants the cooperation of the freed men in promoting some form of negotiations with this country's black majority.

## News

Analysis And for their part, seven of the eight men have responded with moderate comments that suggest that they too are interested in further discussions. For example, while Walter Sisulu, the best known of the former prisoners, and his comrades told reporters on Sunday that their loyalty to the outlawed African National Congress was unshaken and that they wanted Nelson Mandela, the country's most famous prisoner, freed too, they argued these points in a statement remarkable for its absence of defiant rhetoric.

## One Dissonant Voice

Only Jatta Masemola, the eighth released prisoner, who belongs to the rival Pan-Africanist Congress and who was not present at the news conference on Sunday, was outspokenly bitter. Mr. Masemola told reporters today that negotiations "will never result in anything for the oppressed people of the land."

By comparison, when a reporter asked what message Mr. Sisulu had for President F. W. de Klerk, the 77-year-old elder of the black struggle said that "he must make reasonable efforts to create a climate for negotiations" and listed some preconditions, including lifting the ban on the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups.

When the announcement came last Tuesday saying that the eight were to be freed soon, the belief was widespread — particularly among Government critics — that the steps were being ordered to appease those who might urge new sanctions against South Africa at the Commonwealth

conference in Malaysia this week. Nothing since has cast doubt on this motive.

But the Government has gone further in releasing the eight men unconditionally than many critics originally thought.

In the past, freed political prisoners like Govan Mbeki have been barred on their release from engaging in political activities. But today the Government struck the names of Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and Raymond Mhlaba, who were released yesterday, from a banning list dating back before their incarceration over 25 years ago, which removed legal obstacles to meetings they might want to have with reporters.

The authorities also did not interfere with a spirited rally held on Sunday night for the men, which featured the liberation movement's banners, clenched fist salutes and slogans, all of which are technically violations of the law.

## Talks Behind the Scenes

Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, who has contacts with the Congress, said last week that the freed prisoners would request passports to visit the Congress in exile. If the Government takes another unparalleled step in issuing the passports, it would be seen as further evidence that it views them as a potential conduit for dialogue with the Congress.

Because the Government has treated the Congress as its implacable enemy since 1960, it cannot talk directly to the movement, which many blacks support. But by one account here, Government has been talking for over a year with Mr. Mandela, the Congress's symbolic leader. Former President P. W. Botha invited him to tea and conversation in July. Earlier, Justice Minister H. J. Coetsee reportedly met with Mr. Mandela, who seems to have set terms for his freedom.

In announcing the pending releases last Tuesday, President de Klerk hinted that Mr. Mandela had been involved. "It is necessary to state that

## The former captives indicate willingness to cooperate.

Mr. Nelson Mandela is fully apprised of these proposed releases," Mr. de Klerk said.

The President implied that Mr. Mandela agreed, or perhaps even demanded, to have his comrades discharged first. "In fact, discussions were held with him and he confirmed yet again that his release is not now on the agenda," Mr. de Klerk said.

## Mandela's Role Emerging

This has prompted speculation in the South African press that Mr. Mandela, who has been in jail since 1962, is playing an intermediary role as a captive of the Government, which would find it more awkward to deal with him once he was free as titular leader of the Congress. The Sunday Star newspaper here reported Sunday that "Mandela is largely calling the shots when it comes to deciding his own destiny."

Mr. Mandela's captors have been allowing him an unusual number of visits with leaders of the anti-apartheid movement, even bringing Mr. Sisulu to his new home on a prison farm near Cape Town. On the day that Mr. de Klerk promised the releases, Mr. Mandela was visited by Mr. Sisulu's wife, Albertina, who is also co-president of the United Democratic Front, Elijah B. Xavi, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and Murphy Morobe, who has emerged as spokesman for a new alliance calling itself the Mass Democratic Movement.

Mr. de Klerk has all but acknowledged the difficulty of finding legitimate black leaders to talk to. In a meeting last Wednesday with three clergymen outspoken against apartheid, Anglican Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, the Reverend Allan Boesak and the Reverend Frank Chikane,

President de Klerk was quoted as saying that "yes, there must be authentic leaders" at the negotiations he has proposed.

Archbishop Tutu said the clergymen told Mr. de Klerk that "we are not negotiators but see ourselves as facilitators." Mr. Chikane, who is general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said they also made clear to Mr. de Klerk that "you cannot talk about negotiations when people are under restrictions and those who are in exile can't participate and their organizations are banned or restricted. They won't be able to consult with anybody after they have had their talks."

Dealing through Mr. Sisulu and the other released prisoners would make sense to the Government, some political analysts believe, because it came to know and respect them over the years of incarceration. While they have not compromised on their convictions, judging by their remarks, the men belong to an older generation of revolutionaries whose passion has been tempered by wisdom. Thus they are viewed as more reasonable than the younger radicals embittered by the Government's suppression of black rebellion in 1976 and 1986. Being of advancing years, they are also more likely to want to see the shape of the country's future before they die.

Even so, it remains unclear what kind of prominence the returnees will enjoy in the Congress after so many years out of circulation. Their views might be overridden by more militant Congress leaders like Chris Hani, who heads the movement's guerrilla arm. And the newly freed men have not indicated how cooperative they intend to be with Mr. de Klerk's plans.

But The Citizen, a daily newspaper close to the Government's thinking, confirmed today that the release of the eight prisoners was an essential part of the process of pre-negotiation.

"Our advice to the ex-prisoners is to act without provocation, since their release tests the waters for the release of Nelson Mandela, and nothing that happens should make the Government think twice about freeing him," its editorial said.